

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 OES-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 INR-05 PRS-01 SP-02 ACDA-07 L-01
SSO-00 INRE-00 /055 W
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O P 112130Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 507

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 1953

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: TECH, ENRG, PARM, BR, GW

SUBJ: PRESIDENT GEISEL'S NUCLEAR STATEMENT -- EMBASSY COMMENT

REF: BRASILIA 1898

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT GEISEL'S STATEMENT (REFTEL) RE-AFFIRMED DEFINITELY THE GOB'S STEADFAST PUBLIC POSITION ON ENRICHMENT AND REPROCESSING TRANSFERS, IT DID NOT, HOWEVER, RESTRICT FURTHER THE GOB'S ROOM FOR MANEUVER IN SEVERAL OTHER AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO US. THE WARNING THAT BRAZIL COULD GO IT ALONE IN AN UNSAFEGUARDED PROGRAM IF INTERNATIONAL TRANSFERS FAIL TO TAKE PLACE CONSTITUTED THE PRINCIPAL NEW POINT OF STRESS IN THE OFFICIAL POSITION.
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THE STATEMENT MADE CLEAR BRAZIL'S OPPOSITION TO ETERNAL DEPENDENCE ON IMPORTED NUCLEAR FUEL. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, THE STATEMENT, BY REMAINING MUTE ON TWO KEY POINTS IN WHAT WAS AN OTHERWISE COMPREHENSIVE CATALOGUE OF BRAZILIAN POSITIONS, CONTAINED NO RESTRICTION ON WHAT ADDITIONAL SAFEGUARDS BRAZIL WOULD ACCEPT (E.G., FULL-SCOPE), NOR DID THE STATEMENT RULE OUT INTER-

NATIONAL CONTROL OF ENRICHMENT AND REPROCESSING FACILITIES IN BRAZIL. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT GEISEL'S STATEMENT, CALLED A "WHITE BOOK" BY THE PRESS, REPRESENTED A FORMAL, HIGH-LEVEL, SOBER, AND DRAMATICALLY PRESENTED CODIFICATION OF THE GOB'S WELL-KNOWN STEADFAST VIEW. IN THIS SENSE, IT CONFIRMS INFLEXIBILITY ON ALREADY ESTABLISHED POSITIONS. IT DID NOT, HOWEVER, EXPAND THE AREAS OF INFLEXIBILITY. SPECIFICALLY, THE STATEMENT DID NOT:

- RESTRICT FURTHER GOB'S ROOM FOR MANEUVER;
- CONTAIN STRIDENT DECLARATIONS DESIGNED TO STIMULATE PUBLIC REACTION;
- REFER TO US DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOB OR FRG;
- ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE TIMING OF THE EXECUTION OF THE ENRICHMENT AND REPROCESSING PARTS OF THE FRG AGREEMENT;
- CITE ANY SPECIFIC GERMAN PLEDGES TO EXECUTE THE AGREEMENT.

3. THE GOB MAY WELL CONSIDER THE VERY CAREFULLY PREPARED STATEMENT TO BE A DEFINITIVE DELINEATION OF WHICH POINTS ARE OPEN FOR EVENTUAL NEGOTIATION AND WHICH ARE NOT. (AN INDICATION OF THE STATEMENT'S DEFINITIVENESS, FROM THE GOB PERSPECTIVE, IS THAT THE GOB IS RUSHING OUT TRANSLATIONS IN ENGLISH, GERMAN, AND FRENCH. GEISEL'S PRESS SECRETARY NOTED TO THE PRESS THAT THE RELEASE OF THE STATEMENT DURING THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S VISIT TO BONN WAS "VERY CONVENIENT.") AS EXPECTED, THE STATEMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPRESSED ADAMANT OPPOSITION TO THE CONCEPT OF RESTRAINTS ON TRANSFERS OF SENSITIVE FACILITIES AND TECHNOLOGY. IN TWO OTHER AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO US, HOWEVER, THE STATEMENT LEAVES FLEXIBILITY:

(A) THE FORMULATION OF THE DEFENSE OF ENRICHING AND REPROCESSING WITHIN BRAZIL DID NOT SPECIFICALLY RULE OUT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OVER THESE FACILITIES. IT WAS MUTE ON THE QUESTION OF CONTROL OVER FACILITIES. EVEN THOUGH THE GOB PROBABLY REMAINS STRONGLY RESISTANT TO SUCH CONTROL, IT MAY HAVE PERCEIVED A NEED FOR FLEXIBILITY FOR ANY EVENTUAL FALL-BACK.

(B) THE QUESTION OF ADDITIONAL SAFEGUARDS WAS NOT ADDRESSED. WE INTERPRET THIS TO MEAN THAT, ALTHOUGH THE COMPREHENSIVE NATURE OF THE DOCUMENT AFFORDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON THIS QUESTION, THE GOB CHOSE NOT TO RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ACCEPTING ENHANCED (PERHAPS EVEN FULL-SCOPE) SAFEGUARDS. THERE REMAINED NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, ABOUT BRAZILIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD

THE NPT:

4. TWO WARNINGS IN THE STATEMENT WERE AIMED PRINCIPALLY AT THE US AND THE FRG. FIRST, THE GOB MADE CLEAR ITS THREAT TO GO IT ALONE ON REPROCESSING AND ENRICHMENT IF THESE PARTS OF THE GERMAN AGREEMENT FALL THROUGH. FONMIN SILVEIRA UTTERED THIS THREAT SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, THE FIRST TIME A GOB OFFICIAL HAD BEEN SO EXPLICIT AND BOLD. NOW, PRESIDENT GEISEL HAS CONSECRATED IT. A SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SILVEIRA WHO HELPED DRAFT THE STATEMENT TOLD EMBOFF THIS WARNING WAS "THE MOST IMPORTANT" PART OF THE STATEMENT. HE SPECULATED THAT BRAZIL ON ITS OWN COULD DEVELOP PILOT REPROCESSING AND ENRICHMENT FACILITIES WITHIN 5 - 10 YEARS. (WE HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT THIS TIME-FRAME FOR ENRICHMENT AT LEAST.)

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 1953

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WE PRESUME THAT THE GOB JUDGED: (A) THAT AN EXPLICIT THREAT WOULD CAUSE THE US TO HAVE GREATER DOUBTS ABOUT THE LONG-TERM BENEFITS OF THE SUCCESS OF ITS INITIATIVES WITH RESPECT TO THE FRG/GOB AGREEMENT, AND (B) THAT THE VALUE OF THIS WARNING WOULD OUTWEIGH THE INCREMENTAL

COST OF A HEIGHTENED US (AND WORLD) PERCEPTION OF
BRAZIL AS LESS RESPONSIBLE, IT BEING OBVIOUS TO ALL
THAT ANY INDEPENDENT BRAZILIAN REPROCESSING PROGRAM
WOULD HAVE NEGLIGIBLE APPLICATION TO THE POWER
GENERATION PROGRAM FOR A VERY LONG TIME TO COME. A
KEY PART OF THIS INCREMENTAL COST IS THE IMPACT THAT
BRAZIL'S BLUSTER COULD HAVE ON THE WILLINGNESS OF
FOREIGN ENRICHERS TO SUPPLY FUEL FOR BRAZILIAN REACTORS
UP UNTIL BRAZIL'S OWN, UNSAFEGUARDED ENRICHMENT PLANT
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COULD ASSUME THE BURDEN. APPARENTLY THE GOB IS NOT
PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THIS ASPECT.

5. THE SECOND WARNING -- THE GERMAN AGREEMENT IS ALL
OR NOTHING -- IS CLEARLY AIMED AT THE FRG. THE GOB HAS
STATED THIS WARNING BEFORE. THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO
SILVEIRA TOLD EMBOFF THAT THE GOB HAS MADE THIS
WARNING PRIVATELY TO THE FRG, SOMETHING WE HAVE
ALWAYS ASSUMED.

6. WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE GOB, HAVING MADE
CLEAR THE COSTS TO THE FRG AND TO THE CAUSE OF NON-
PROLIFERATION OF A BLOCKAGE OF THE TRANSFER OF ENRICH-
MENT AND REPROCESSING FACILITIES, SEES THE BALL NOW IN
THE FRG/USG COURT. ALTHOUGH THE GOB PROBABLY IS
UNEASY ABOUT WHAT THE FRG WILL DO, THE
GOB DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE LOST CONFI-
DENCE THAT THE TRANSFERS EVENTUALLY WILL TAKE PLACE.

7. PRESS REACTIONS TO STATEMENT FOLLOW BY SEPTTEL.
CRIMMINS

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